

## JESUITS ARCHITECTURE IN POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH IN 1564-1772

ANDRZEJ BETLEJ | JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY IN CRACOW, INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY

### THE HISTORY OF RESEARCHES

It is hard to present a comprehensive, consistent body of research upon Jesuit architecture in Poland. Although art historians do have at disposal a fairly large number of publications upon single Jesuits' churches, an overall, all-encompassing perspective is lacking. We should mention an imposing elaboration on the Order's history, published in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the work by Stanisław Załęski, entitled «Jesuits in Poland».<sup>1</sup> The work is of great importance, as it employs archival materials, most of which were since lost and destroyed during the first and second World War. The research before World War II was only just started by another Jesuit, Stanisław Bednarski, but his work was cut short by World War II. After 1945, due to the new geo-political situation, the research could only continue in a very limited scope. Scientists have to realize that about 70% of Polish artistic heritage, is located in the east, outside the present borders of Poland. These lands effectively became totally «off limits» to Polish researchers, closed off by the new border, which served as the inner «iron curtain» within the eastern bloc. Any research conducted by Soviet researchers did not tackle the «alien, western cultural heritage», and if they did, they were flawed by ideological and doctrinal correctness, while, at the same time, often methodologically naive. Meanwhile, planned extermination of historical and architectural monuments was in progress. I do not mean just the Stalinist period of 1930s, and the period directly after World War II. Ecclesiastical architecture (including Jesuit buildings) was being destroyed even in 1980s, as a part of a planned, active battle against the Church, during which all its visible signs were to be removed. Research upon Jesuit architecture focused mostly upon the monuments which remained within the present borders of

---

<sup>1</sup> ZAŁĘSKI, S., *Jezuici w Polsce 1564-1772*, vol. 1-4, Kraków 1905; ZAŁĘSKI, S., *Jezuici w Polsce porzucionej 1772-1820*, vol. 1-2, Kraków 1907.

Poland.<sup>2</sup> Much research was done notably upon the Jesuit church in Kraków, and the authorship of the building is still subject to a lively dispute between Adam Malkiewicz and Mariusz Karpowicz.<sup>3</sup> Churches in Kalisz, and Święta Lipka have been analysed, and an in-depth study of the Sandomierz college was carried out. Father Jerzy Paszenda SJ, plays a special role in studying the heritage of the Jesuit order. He co-authored the dictionary of Jesuit artists,<sup>4</sup> and the monographs of the aforesaid churches. The researcher, who as his main resource has the archives of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (to be exact, their pre-World War II photocopies) diligently studies and reports the history of each work. The only criticism is that his diligent study of sources sometimes is not coupled with the analysis of artistic quality. Priest Paszenda's work has been collected in four volumes of a series titled 'Jesuit buildings in Poland'.<sup>5</sup> At the present, the author is working on the fifth volume. Paszenda was not the only person to study the subject. We should also note the monographs of Stanisław Solski SJ<sup>6</sup> and Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski.<sup>7</sup> The situation of research upon Jesuit-related arts changed towards the end of 1980s. Access to the actual artworks and monuments opened up new possibilities –but it wasn't until 1990s that monument stock-taking and cataloguing activities were undertaken in the former eastern lands, and that was developed by Polish researchers. In that period, for example monographs of Ostróg (Ostroh),<sup>8</sup> Lwów (Lviv),<sup>9</sup> Wilno (Vilnius),<sup>10</sup> and Mińsk (Minsk)<sup>11</sup> were prepared, among

<sup>2</sup> In this paper I excluded the research related to buildings located within the region of Silesia, which has been joined to Poland after 1945.

<sup>3</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., «Kościół ŚŚ. Piotra i Pawła w Krakowie – dzieje budowy i problem autorstwa», *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace z historii sztuki*, 5, 1967, s. 43-86; MIŁOBĘDZKI, A., *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, vol. I, Warszawa, 1980, pp. 108-115; KARPOWICZ, M., *Matteo Castello, architekt wczesnego baroku*, Warszawa, 1994, pp. 47-73 (published also in Italian version: *Matteo Castello. L'architetto del primo Barocco a Roma e in Polonia*, Ticino Management Sa, Edizioni Arte e Storia, 2003, pp. 93-147); MALKIEWICZ, A., «Trevano czy Castello autorem ostatniej fazy budowy kościoła ŚŚ. Piotra i Pawła w Krakowie?», *Folia Historiae Artium*, SN, 2/3, 1996-1997, pp. 81-108.

<sup>4</sup> POPLATEK, J. and PASZENDA, J., *Słownik jezuitów artystów*, Kraków, 1972.

<sup>5</sup> PASZENDA, J., *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 1-4, Kraków, 1999-2010.

<sup>6</sup> BURSZA, J. and ŁUCZAK, E. (ed.), *Stanisław Solski. Architekt Polski*, Wrocław, 1969, pp. V-XXXII.

<sup>7</sup> BARANOWSKI, J., *Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, teoretyk i architekt XVIII w.*, Wrocław 1975.

<sup>8</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Architektura kolegium jezuitów w Ostrogu», in *Idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 2000, pp. 305-334; BETLEJ, A., «Niech przyjdzie tu Witruwiusz wraz ze swoim następcami. Kilka uwag na temat kościoła Jezuitów w Ostrogu», in *Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL. Historia Sztuki*, vol. 54, 2006, pp. 189-224.

<sup>9</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół jezuitów we Lwowie w świetle źródeł archiwalnych», in *Idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 2000, pp. 111-140.

<sup>10</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół pw. Św. Kazimierza w Wilnie», in *Idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, pp. 427-460.

<sup>11</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kolegium jezuickie w Mińsku», in *Idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 2000, pp. 273-304.

others. A separate study was devoted to Giuseppe Maria Bernardoni, thanks to the discovery of a collection of his designs in the Kiev archives.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, Polish monuments of Jesuit architecture remain largely unknown to western researchers. This is due to the language barrier, as most works have not been translated or summarised in conference languages... with the exception of works by Richard Bösel, who not only mentions, but in some cases also discusses some of the endowments in the lands of the Polish Republic.<sup>13</sup> The current research of Polish art historian focuses largely upon 18<sup>th</sup>-century architecture. Jesuit temples received their description during the aforementioned stock-taking and cataloguing campaign, and Jesuit works are an important element in the discussions of, for instance, the so-called «Vilnius Rococo» architecture.<sup>14</sup> Although, a brief discussion on the influence of Jesuit architecture upon the art in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was published by Andrzej Baranowski, back in the days when access to the monuments was still limited.<sup>15</sup> Over the last decade, we saw the appearance of monographs of Jesuit artists –for instance the wood-carver Thomas Hutter,<sup>16</sup> architect Paweł Giżycki SJ,<sup>17</sup> while Giacomo Briano's monograph is «in the works». Significantly, the «Encyclopaedia of Knowledge on the Jesuit Order in Poland»<sup>18</sup> was published at the time, a summa of knowledge on the history of the Order.

<sup>12</sup> GARCIOTTI, S. and KOWALCZYK, J., *L'architetto Gian Maria Bernardoni SJ tra l'Italia e le Terre dell'Europa Centro-Oriente*, Roma 1996.

<sup>13</sup> BÖSEL, R., «Giacomo Briano. Der Architekt der Lemberger Jesuitenkirche», in *Drubij Miznarodnyj Konbres Ukrajiniŭ, Lwiv, 22-28.08.1993. Dopowidi ta powidomlennia. Istoriobrafia ukrajinoznastwa, ennolobija, kultura*, Lwiv 1994, pp. 184-189; BÖSEL, R., «Grundsatzfragen und Fallstudien zur jesuitischen Bautypologie», in KARNER, H. and TELESKO, W. (ed.), *Die Jesuiten in Wien. Zur Kunst Und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordenprovinz der «Gesellschaft Jesu» im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2003, pp. 208-209; BÖSEL, R., «L'architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Europa», in SALE, G. (ed.), *Ignazio e l'Arte dei gesuiti*, Milano 2003, pp. 65-122 (English edition: O'MALLEY, J. W., BAILEY, G. A. and SALE, G. (ed.), *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773*, Philadelphia 2005, pp. 118-122); BÖSEL, R., «Jesuitenarchitektur – zur Problematik ihrer Identität», in CEMUS, P. (ed.), *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556-2006*, Praha, 2010, pp. 1330-1331. See also: DACOSTA KAUFFMANN, T., *Court, Cloister & City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800*, London, 1995, p. 217; FERRARI AGRI, P., «La chiesa dei SS. Pietro e Paolo a Cracovia», ROCCHI COOPMANS DE YOLDI, G. (ed.), *Architetture della Compagnia ignaziana nei centri antichi italiani*, Firenze, Alinea Editrice, 1999, pp. 87-104.

<sup>14</sup> KOWALCZYK, J., «Barocke Sakralarchitektur in Wilna», in LANGER, A. and POPP, D. (ed.), *Barocke Sakralarchitektur in Wilna. Verfall und Erneuerung*, Marburg 2002, pp. 23-42.

<sup>15</sup> BARANOWSKI, A., «Rola kościołów jezuickich w rozwoju architektury Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego», in *Podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii architekturom sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, Warszawa, 1988, pp. 286-295.

<sup>16</sup> SITO, J., *Thomas Hutter, rzeźbiarz późnego baroku*, Warszawa-Przemyśl, 2001.

<sup>17</sup> BETLEJ, A., *Paweł Giżycki SJ. Architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Kraków, 2003.

<sup>18</sup> GRZEBIEŃ, L. SJ (ed.), *Encyklopedia Wiedzy o Jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, Kraków, WAM, 1996.

THE PANORAMA OF JESUITS' ARCHITECTURE IN POLAND IN 17<sup>th</sup> AND 18<sup>th</sup> CENT

The problem of Jesuits' architecture (or correctly specifying: the architecture of churches and colleges of Jesuit Order) in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth architecture is interesting because, in fact, it concerns a large part of Central and Eastern Europe. *That state, called the Polish (or Polish-Lithuanian) Commonwealth, comprised two equal parts, The Crown (Poland) and the Grand Duchy (Lithuania), and encompassed most of the territory between the Baltic and Black Seas, and from Silesia to the very gates of Moscow. It means that the whole territory of present Lithuania, Latvia, over the half of Republic of Byelorussia and Ukraine belonged to this unusual state. At that time the Polish Commonwealth was the largest state in Europe. It covered an area of some 815 square kilometers. The population of the Commonwealth was nearly ten million (equal to that of Italy, twice that of England), but only 40 percent were Poles, and they were concentrated in about 20 percent of the area. In the center of Polish life stood the szlachta. (The English words nobility and gentry are commonly used for this group, but, in fact, there are not the same—we can compare it with the situation of Roman Empire—where only the citizens had a special status).*<sup>19</sup> Anyway, only the szlachta had the full civilian rights, only that group had right to possess the land and only szlachta had its representation in the supreme legislative power, known as «Sejm»—it means parliament, and only the szlachta had right to elect the King.

The gentry itself wasn't homogenous. The power-wielding aristocrats were of the highest importance: these were the so-called magnates, often with princely titles, who owned huge lands and properties and held the highest stately offices (among them were the families of Radziwiłł, Potocki, Sapieha, Czartoryski, Wiśniowiecki). In the face of weak central power of the king, and a somewhat anarchistic parliament, in fact they were the ones to decide the policies of the Polish Republic. To grasp the significance of this stratum, suffice it to say that the budgets of their courts exceeded by far the budget of the State, while the numbers of private armies at certain times surpassed the army of the whole Republic. It is the magnates' activity and the magnates' wealth that often provided the economic base for Jesuit activities. Artistic endowments proved their «magnificence», considered to be an attribute of truly noble and grand gentlemen.

In the center of life of szlachta was Religion. Catholicism was (and still is) a dominant confession in Commonwealth, although only about 40% of the nation belonged to Roman Catholic Church. The Ruthenes predominant in the eastern part of the country, but only part adhered to Orthodox rite. From 1596, after the union in the Brześć, some of them decided to recognize the supremacy of the papal Rome. Anyway, they had been treated as the «second category» citizens.

Situation of the Catholic church in Poland was comfortable indeed, which was certainly showing in the field of the arts. Imposing churches, in particular the Jesuit ones, were visible signs of the militant church—the church of the

<sup>19</sup> ZAMOYSKI, A., «History of Poland In the 16th – 18th Centuries», in OSTROWSKI, J. (ed.), *Land of Winged Horsemen. Art in Poland 1572-1764*, Alexandria 1999, pp. 27-37.

missions, which converted the heretics (particularly those Eastern Orthodox ones). The attitude of the magnates, who supported the counter-reformation orders, additionally facilitated new endowments. Religious teaching was backed by artistic endowments, while architecture was used as a tool in the occidentisation and latinisation of the eastern art (it would be truly a forced argument to look for influences in the opposite direction). At the same time, the role of the Church remained in harmony with the Polish people's vision of their homeland being at a forefront of Christianity, and providing the last line of defence against the Muslim and Orthodox worlds.

Years between 1564 (when the first Jesuits' arrived to Poland) and 1772-1773 (when the Poland was portioned and the Order was cancelled) were of particular importance to the shaping of the Polish architectural landscape. The intensity of building activity around 1600 was the result of excellent economic situation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time. Nevertheless, even during a deep crisis, which affected the Polish economy after a series of devastating wars in the middle and in the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century, means were found for new architectural foundations. The next period of economic prosperity, between 1740-1770 saw the next building boom in Poland, caused also by lasting peace. Vigorous building activity in the Polish territories brought about the need for a great many architects who would carry out numerous commission and who were expected to meet various requirements, depending on the affluence, education, and artistic consciousness of their clients. The most powerful of these patrons, representing the elite of state authority or higher clergy, could usually boast fairly extensive knowledge in the field of architecture, acquired for the most part by reading architectural treatises and by journeys to the main art centers in Europe.<sup>20</sup>

In 1564, the first Jesuits to settle in Poland initially belonged to the Province of Austria. In 1575, a separate Province of Poland was formed, covering the lands of all the Polish Republic. In the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was subdivided into the Province of Poland and the Province of Lithuania –while the latter covered also the central Poland, the Mazovia. A rapid development of the Order's establishments took place, however, it was slowed down by Poland's wars against Russia, Sweden, and Turkey. In mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Jesuit monks decreased by 40 percent. In 1756, the Assistency of Poland was formed, while also in the 1750s, the provinces of Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), Lesser Poland (Małopolska), Mazovia and Lithuania were formed. In 1773, the order was dissolved, but it survived until early 19<sup>th</sup> century in the easternmost areas of Poland (that is to say, those areas, which were annexed by the Tsarist Russia, under the First Partition of Poland).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> KRASNY, P., «Architecture in Poland 1572-1764», in OSTROWSKI, J. (ed.), *Land of Winged Horsemen. Art in Poland 1572-1764*, Alexandria 1999, pp. 81, 89.

<sup>21</sup> POPLATEK, J. and PASZENDA, J., *Słownik jezuitów...*, op. cit., pp. 65-69; see also PASZENDA, J., «Geografia budowlń jezuitów w Polsce», in *idem, Budowle jezuitów w Polsce*, vol. 1, Kraków 1999, pp. 15-24.

Jesuits in Poland soon gained a great popularity. Although initially, they were established within or next to pre-existing churches, usually Gothic in style, it came as a rule that typically within several years they replaced those old churches with newly-erected ones. This provided a strong impulse for the development of ecclesiastic architecture in Poland. The Polish architecture at the time was rather uniquely situated, as through most of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Gothic remained the mode of ecclesiastical buildings, with only very rare exceptions. And now, the new Jesuit churches represented a new, up-to-date stylistic mode. It should be noted that in the initial period of the development of Jesuit architecture in Poland, the architects as such did not enjoy a very high esteem. Indeed, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, people often failed to make the distinction between an architect and a stonemason.

The history of architecture of the Society in Poland can be described as situated between tradition and modernity. By necessity, the buildings presented in this paper are merely the selected few major examples – it would not be possible to discuss the ninety-something churches and colleges (not to mentioned lesser establishments also in their possession).

In the first period of the development of Jesuit architecture in Poland, the first Father Provincial contracted Jesuit architects who had previously worked in Rome, under the guidance of Giovanni Tristano: Giuseppe Brizzio and Giovanni Maria Bernardoni. The first stayed and worked in Poland between 1575-1587, and the latter, since 1583 until 1605. Both prepared numerous designs, not all of them actually carried out, while they also directed the works in many projects of varying scope, in several Jesuit establishments simultaneously. The names of both architects are often quoted in connection with the same projects. Combined with the lack of adequate primary sources, this fact makes it difficult to describe the features of their oeuvre. Bernardoni was responsible for the design of the church in Nieśwież (Niaswiż; 1586-1593), which was one of the first adaptations of the Gesu church in Rome [fig. 1]. The adoption of the original model is necessarily limited to the plan of the façade, and the introduction of a transept and a dome (the corpus of the building is that of a basilica). The church was endowed by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, who was most actively involved in the construction, and often interfered in the process. Bernardoni was also responsible for the design of a church in Kalisz (1592-1597) – in which the disposition of the façade (remodelled since) is concordant with the one in Nieśwież. Also the disposition and the proportions of the interior are the same in both cases– the two churches were emporium basilicas.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Fundacja prymasa Karnkowskiego dla jezuitów w Kaliszu», «Kościół Bożego Ciała (pojezuicki) w Nieświeżu», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 1, Kraków 1999, pp. 101-138, 279-320.





Fig.1. Nieśwież, 1586-1593, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni SJ (Photo Piotr Jamski).

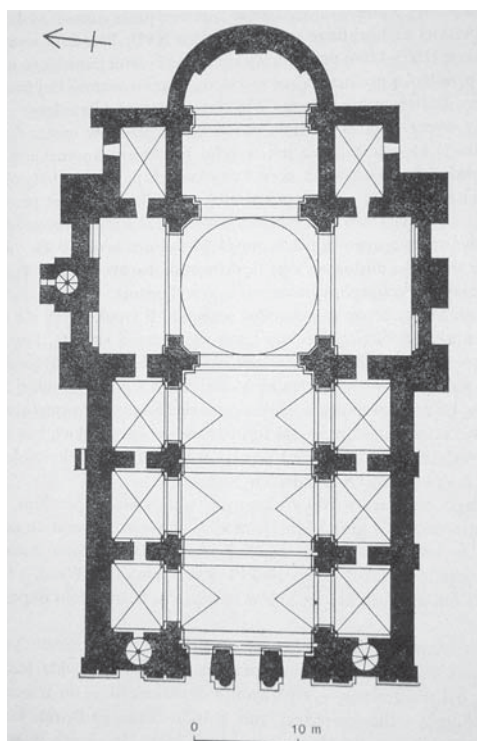


Fig. 2. St. Peter and St Paul church in Kraków. Plan.

We are facing the problem of joint authorship in the case of the Lublin church (1584-1604) as well as the ones in Jarosław and Kraków. The Lublin church, substantially remodelled since, was designed jointly by Brizzio and Bernardoni. It was an emporium basilica, with a presbytery bracketed between two central chapels, with a façade (since then subjected to many substantial remodelling projects), which initially resembled the Nieśwież façade in form. The Jarosław church (1582-1594) has been confirmed as Brizzio's work. It is a one-aisle building with two chapels forming a pseudo-transept. The proportions of the aisle in the case of Jarosław, Lublin, and the first plan for Kraków (1594-1605), are identical. We also note that the plans of the churches in Lublin, Nieśwież, and Kraków are based upon an identical module. Without entering into a detailed discussion, we may conclude that the first Jesuit churches in Poland were an attempt to create the local blueprint for a church, which was adjusted according to the rank of the given establishment, and of its location.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> PASZENDA, J., „Jarosław, Lublin, Kraków – wczesne kościoły jezuickie”, in *idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 3, Kraków 2006, pp. 163-168.





Fig. 3. Façade of the St. Peter and St Paul church in Kraków, probably designed by Giovanni Maria Trevano.  
Photo Andrzej Betlej.

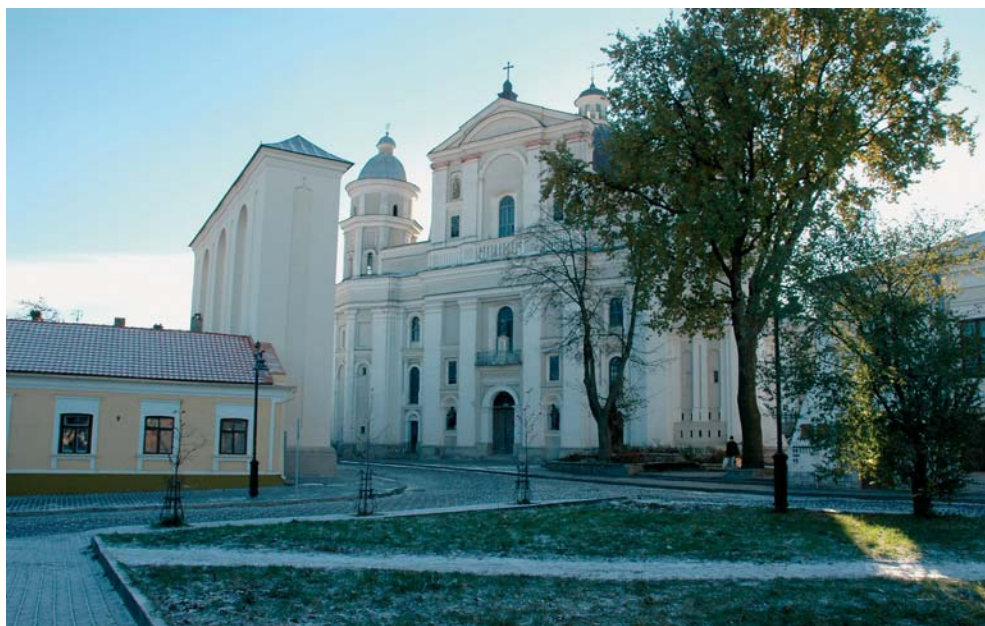


Fig. 4. Łuck, 1616-1640, Giacomo Briano SJ. Photo Andrzej Betlej.

Later history of the Kraków [fig. 2, 3] church is extremely interesting. It should be noted that the church was endowed by the King. There was a break in the construction between 1605 and 1610, and afterwards, with a modified design, the process continued, to conclude in around 1620. When the church received its unique form, remains the bone of contention until this day. The resulting church is a one-aisle building with two side chapels, with homogenous bay structure, a clearly demarcated space beneath the dome, and a decorative façade. The solution of the interior, the shape of the dome, and architectural details, bring this church close to the works of architecture in Rome, particularly those by Domenico Fontana and Carlo Maderno. This is the reason why the church design is attributed to Matteo Castello, although other sources speak of architect Giovanni Trevano.<sup>24</sup>

The situation is further muddled by the fact that we may quote other designs by other architects, which certainly refer to the Kraków church –for instance the drawings by Giacomo Briano.<sup>25</sup> The said Giacomo Briano of Modena was per-

<sup>24</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., «Kościół ŚŚ. Piotra i Pawła...», *op. cit.*, pp. 43-86; KARPOWICZ, M., *Matteo Castell-o...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-73; MALKIEWICZ, A., «Trevano czy Castello...», *op. cit.*, pp. 81-108.

<sup>25</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., «Jakuba Briana SJ projekty jezuickiego kolegium w Krakowie», in *Festina Lente. Prace ofiarowane Andrzejowi Fischingerowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków, 1998, pp. 103-112; BETLEJ, A., «Łwowskie projekty Giacomina Briano a fasada krakowskiego kościoła ŚŚ. Piotra i Pawła», in *Magistro et Amico amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Kraków, 2002, pp. 281-271.

haps the most interesting artistic personality of all the architects who were active in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Before he entered the Order, he received his education in the field of architecture. He is a fitting subject of study for both art historians and psychiatrists. He left behind numerous architectural drawings, some found at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, but most at The Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.<sup>26</sup> The artist arrived in Poland in 1616 for the purpose of constructing the church in Luck (Lutsk) [fig. 4]. The building was erected upon the central plan of a Greek cross, with a dome at the intersection of the aisles, which is a modified rendition of Rosato Rosati's S. Carlo ai Catinari church in Rome. The present shape of the interior is a result of remodelling projects following the dissolution of the Order, and it dates back to 1780s, when the church was turned into the local cathedral. The ornamented façade represents the manner of articulation, which is typical for Briano: with a homogenous, compact division, using «heavy» classical orders, and the fields in-between the pilasters, filled with portals, windows, and panels in sculpted cases.<sup>27</sup> This creation has a marked similarity to the church in Lwów, which was constructed simultaneously.

The Lwów church has been built between 1610-1630s<sup>28</sup> [fig. 5]. Particularly numerous designs survive for this building (including the ones in Graphische Sammlung Albertina, and The Getty Research Institute). Those designs, as well as the actual finished building, resemble the works of Pellegrino Tibaldi, in terms of the interior as well as the middle part of the façade. Unfortunately, the dome that Briano designed over the presbytery has not been built.<sup>29</sup> Most probably based on the Lwów church designs, a church in Winnica (Vinnitsa), built in 1630s. Here (in the part which survived to this date) we can also note Briano's typical arrangement of the façade. Briano was also responsible for the extension of the church in Jarosław (dated 1624), to which he added two chapels and a vestibule.<sup>30</sup>

Briano reappeared in Poland in 1630 –in order to design the church in Ostróg. He prepared as many as 12 different versions of the design for the benefit of the founder, Anna Chodkiewiczowa– these survive in the

<sup>26</sup> BURY, J., *Forty-three sheets of architectural drawings by Giacomo Briano da Modena S.J.: (1589-1649); the society's architect in Poland and in Northern Italy; a hitherto unknown work of major importance for the history of the European architectural treatise*, Milano, [ca. 1985]; BETLEJ, A., «Appunti sui disegni del gesuita Giacomo Briano», *Il Disegno di Architettura*, 27, 2003, pp. 17-24.

<sup>27</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Dzieje budowy kościoła i kolegium jezuitów w Lucku według źródeł jezuickich», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, pp.149-176.

<sup>28</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół jezuitów we Lwowie...», *op. cit.*, pp. 111-140.

<sup>29</sup> BÖSEL, R., «Giacomo Briano...», *op. cit.*, pp. 185-188.

<sup>30</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół św. Jana w Jarosławiu w wiekach XVII i XVIII», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 1, Kraków 1999, pp. 75-100; BETLEJ, A., «Kilka uwag na temat projektów rozbudowy kościoła Św. Jana w Jarosławiu autorstwa Giacomo Briano», *Modus*, 5, 2004, s. 22-32.





Fig. 5. Lwów, 1610-1635, Giacomo Briano SJ. Photo before 1939.

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The founder aspired to build a magnificent church, which should hold the funerary monuments of her brothers, who converted from Orthodoxy, and her husband, a military leader who died in a battle against the Turks. The church was therefore meant as an imposing monument of militant Catholicism, and of the Polish Republic, as the guardian of Faith. Was the construction begun according to Briano's drawings? This is difficult to establish, due to the ambiguity of archival materials. The surviving iconography, however, leads us to suppose that it was largely based upon his concepts. A huge church was erected, a three-aisle basilica with a transept, accompanied by an equally monumental college building [fig. 6].<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Architektura kolegium jezuitów w Ostrogu», *op. cit.*, pp. 305-334; BETLEJ, A., «Niech przyjdzie tu Witruwiusz...», *op. cit.*, pp. 189-224.



Fig. 6. Ostróg, general view of the church and collegiums, ca 1632, attr. To Giacomo Briano SJ, (destroyed 1880s). Archival photo ca 1860.

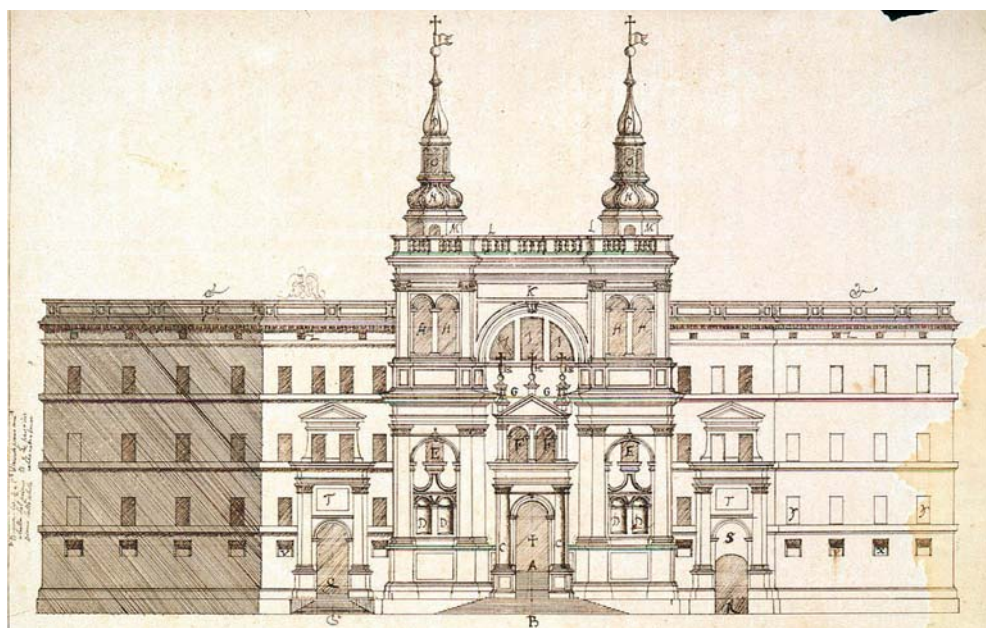


Fig. 7. Giacomo Briano's project for the church in Przemyśl. The Collection of The Getty Research Institute.





Fig. 8. St. Casimir church in Wilno, 1604-1618, Jan Frankiewicz SJ. Photo Piotr Jamski.

Particularly interesting designs by Briano were those intended for Sandomierz, a town located in relative proximity to Kraków, where Jesuits worked affiliated with the Gothic church of St. Peter's. Briano's design shows a basilica church with emporiums, with the nave and the presbytery of equal lengths, with original façades, clasped by towers at the corners and at the axis. The forms of the building seem to recall the local architectural tradition of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> Equally interesting, but alas, never executed, are Briano's designs for Przemyśl [fig. 7]. The immense college enclosed, on two sides, a three-aisle basilica with a transept and a dome. Additionally, Briano planned to attach chapels to the aisle. The façade was supposed to be particularly imposing and representative, a veritable triumphal arch.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to Briano, one more architect should be mentioned –Benedetto Molle, who continued Briano's work at the construction of the Ostróg church (however, it is disputed whether he followed his own design, or that of Briano's). It is certain that the Luck college is a concept of his (partly executed). The disciples of this first «generation» of architects included Michał Hinz and Jan Frankiewicz. The first is responsible for the college in Lublin,<sup>34</sup> while the Frankiewicz is the author of Saint Kazimierz church in Wilno.

The construction of the church of St. Kazimierz (Casimir) was started in 1604 [fig. 8]. The foundation coincided with St. Kazimierz's proclamation as the Patron Saint of Lithuania, and the public announcement of the Brzesko Union –which was a visible sign of the Catholic church's triumph in the eastern lands. The completion of the construction coincided with the celebrations of an anniversary of the victory against Moscow. Frankiewicz is the author of the design, while the proportions and shape of the church is modelled upon the plans of the churches in Kraków and Lublin, with towers added. Due to its denomination, the church always enjoyed the patronage of the most illustrious representatives of Lithuanian magnates; it also served as an informal mausoleum of the Vasa dynasty.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> About the existed church: KUNKEL, R. and MROZOWSKI, P., «Kościół św. Piotra w Sandomierzu. Analiza historyczno-architektoniczna», in *Sandomierz. Badania 1969-1973*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1996, s. 144-156; PASZENDA, J., «Kościół Świętego Piotra w Sandomierzu», in *idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, s. 333-356; about Briano's drawings, BÖSEL, R., «Jesuitenarchitektur ...», *op. cit.*, pp. 1.330-1.331.

<sup>33</sup> BETLEJ, A., «Kilka uwag na temat kościoła Jezuitów w Przemyślu w XVII wieku», *Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL. Historia Sztuki*, 50, 2002, pp. 301-321.

<sup>34</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Chronologia budowy zespołu gmachów jezuickich w Lublinie», «Lubelskie projekty Michała Hintza i Jakuba Briano», in *idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 1, Kraków 1999, pp. 139-208.

<sup>35</sup> BRANOWSKI, A., «Rola kościołów jezuickich...», *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287; PASZENDA, J., «Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie», in *idem, Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, pp. 427-460.



Fig. 9. Pińsk, façade ca 1750, (destroyed after 1946). Archival photo before 1939.

Before mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the construction of the church in Pińsk (Pinsk) [fig. 9] began (1636-1647, not surviving today) –which was exceedingly heterogeneous. This amazing creation was a result of several remodelling projects. Initially a basilica church, towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century it was turned into a hall with a tower attached to it at a later date; and later still, a transept and a presbytery were added. The façade, quasi-theatrical, in the shape we know from surviving photographs, was made in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, and the dome was added in the 19<sup>th</sup> (when the building was taken over by the Orthodox church).<sup>36</sup>

In the panorama of Jesuit architecture, the Warsaw church (1609-1624) stands out. It is a strikingly slender building, with a mannerist façade, an original presbytery with a domed apse, and an adjoining tower. The design has been attributed to two architects: Jakub Balin and the aforementioned Jan Frankiewicz.<sup>37</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół i kolegium jezuitów w Pińsku», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, pp. 213-250.

<sup>37</sup> MIŁOBĘDZKI, A., *Architektura polska...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 121; KARPOWICZ, M., *Artisti Ticinesi in Polonia nella prima metà del '600*, Ticino Mangement Sa, 2002, pp. 83-85; PASZENDA, J., «Zabudowania jezuickie na Starym Mieście w Warszawie», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 4, Kraków 2010, pp. 427-460.

disposition of the façade is archaic indeed, but the interior is very unusual, which would suggest participation of an Italian architect (Briano perhaps).

To sum up the first stage of the development of Jesuit architecture, we should report that by mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, 21 churches were constructed, accompanied by 15 college buildings. Unfortunately, this dynamic development of the Order was slowed down by the wars, as I have already mentioned. It wasn't until the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in 1670s, that the second architectural «boom» occurred. At that time, more than 20 churches and 10 colleges were built. That second period is often referred to as «re-catholicising» of the Polish Republic. Significant Jesuit establishments are built in Święta Lipka, Poznań, Krasnystaw, Przemyśl, Grodno, to name but a few. These buildings are situated within the mode of traditional architecture, following the blueprints, which date back to the first half of the century, although we also note some outstanding works, evoking the major accomplishments of West European architecture.

Within the aforementioned traditional strand of Jesuit architecture, we can place for instance the church in Przemyśl (completed in 1671, most probably the work of Giacomo Solari), in Krasnystaw (erected between 1697-1715 according to the design by Jan Ignacy Delamars)<sup>38</sup> and the new church in Jarosław (so-called «in the Field», 1698-1709, with a dynamic screen façade on the side of the presbytery, fitted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>39</sup> A special place in this architectural panorama is held by the church in Święta Lipka [fig. 10] in the Warmia region (built between 1688-1693). The church is a pilgrimage site. Surrounded with a cloister, it has a decorative façade with mounted columns (which have their precedent in earlier Polish architecture –for instance in the church in Tarłów, or the SS Peter and Paul's in Wilno.<sup>40</sup> The church at Grodno (Hrodno; 1678-1705)<sup>41</sup> repeats the dominant scheme of a basilica, which had been present in Jesuit architecture since the beginning of that century. The façade is a more robust version of the one found in the Wilno church [fig. 11]. However, the reception of the church is largely informed by the main altar [fig. 12], which fills the whole of the apse (1736, Johann Schmidt).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Lubelska rodzina Delamars», in *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, 4, 2000, pp. 105-119.

<sup>39</sup> SITO, J., «O dwóch koncepcjach «ślepej» fasady kościoła jezuitów w Jarosławiu», in *Miedzy Padwą a Zamościem. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury nowożytnej; ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Kowalczykowi*, Warszawa, 1993, pp. 289-301.

<sup>40</sup> PASZENDA, J., *Święta Lipka. Monografia*, Warszawa 2008, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> PASZENDA, J., «Kościół pojezuicki (farny) w Grodnie», in *idem*, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce*, vol. 2, Kraków 2000, pp. 37-78.

<sup>42</sup> SMOLIŃSKI, M., *Rzeźbiarz Jan Chrystian Schmidt. Rola Warmii jako prowincji artystycznej w XVIII wieku*, Olsztyn 2006, pp. 26-31.





Fig. 10. Świątynia Lipka, 1688-1693. Photo Piotr Jamski.

But what also appeared in this period, was the influence of the Italian high baroque in Jesuit architecture. Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the architecture of Polish (and Jesuit) church interiors began to exhibit combined architectural, sculptured and painted motives similar to Bernini's works. In order to impart dynamic qualities to the space of church interiors, architects introduced free-standing columns, like those in the church in Poznań (1671-1701), built by Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski. This coulisse-like, stenographic composition recalls structures by Baldassare Longena, Andrea Pozzo and Bibienas [fig. 13]. Wąsowski was an artist of thorough and versatile education. He completed his architectural studies before entering the Order (unfortunately we do not know where and with whom he received his learning), and he complemented it with an art-themed journey around Europe, which he recorded in writing and sketches.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Wąsowski was the author of a contemporary textbook of architecture, entitled *Callitectonicorum seu de pulchro architecturae sacra et civilis compenio*, published in 1678, in which he stressed the aesthetic values of ecclesiastical architecture (other than that, it was a compilation of works by

<sup>43</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., «Bartłomeo Nataniel Wąsowski e l'architettura Italiana. Un viaggio Italiano di Wąsowski nel 1655 e la sua attività trattatista e architetto», in *Viaggio in Italia e viaggio in Polonia*, Kraków 1994, pp. 129-143.





Fig. 11. Grodno, 1678-1705. Photo Piotr Jamski.



Fig. 12. Main altar in the church in Grodno, 1736, Johann Christian Schmidt. Photo Piotr Jamski.





Fig. 13. Poznań, 1671-1701, Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski SJ. Photo Andrzej Betlej.

Serlio, Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi).<sup>44</sup> In addition to Wąsowski we should note another illustrious Jesuit personage: Stanisław Solksi (1622-1701), who earned his place in the history of architecture as an excellent mathematician and architectural advisor to Krakovian bishop Jan Małachowski. He was the author of the work entitled *Architekt Polski* ('The Polish Architect'), published in 1690.<sup>45</sup> He is linked to the unrealised design (1694) intended for the Lazarites' church in Kraków, clearly influenced by Pozzo's work.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> BARANOWSKI, J., *Bartłomiej Nataniel...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-169; MIŁOBĘDZKI, A., *Architektura polska...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-414; MALKIEWICZ, A., 'Udział Bartłomieja Nataniela Wąsowskiego w budowie kościoła i kolegium jezuitów (obecnie farnego) w Poznaniu', in *idem, Theoria et Praxis. Studia z dziejów sztuki nowożytnej i jej teorii*, Kraków 2000, pp. 303-336; PASZENDA, J., 'Bartłomieja Wąsowskiego własnoręczne projekty dla Poznania, Jarosławia i Lwowa', in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 49, 1987, pp. 251-25.

<sup>45</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., *Teoria architektury w nowożytnym piśmiennictwie polskim*, Kraków 1976, pp. 170-181.

<sup>46</sup> MALKIEWICZ, A., 'Niezrealizowany projekt krakowskiego kościoła Misjonarzy na Stradomiu i jego domniemany autor: przyczynek do działalności architektów dyletantów w Krakowie w epoce baroku', in *Rocznik Krakowski*, 75, 2009, pp. 71-82.

On the whole, the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was an adverse time for the development of architecture in Poland. The Northern Wars, followed by the Civil War within the Republic either slowed down or put a stop to many endowment projects. However, since 1730s, we again note substantial increase in the construction projects carried out by the Order. At that time, as many as 37 churches and colleges were built. Interestingly enough, in that period, virtually every province (or every section of the Polish Republic) had its own, informal chief architect or architects. Active in Wielkopolska were Franciszek Koźmiński SJ and Józef Feliks Rogaliński SJ, in Russian lands, Paweł Giżycki SJ and Faustyn Grodzicki SJ, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Tomasz Żebrowski SJ, and in Małopolska – Józef Karsznicki SJ.

By far the most interesting of the lot was Giżycki,<sup>47</sup> who had been educated outside the Order, most probably in the circle of Kacper Bażanka, the graduate and laureate of the Roman Accademia di San Luca. At any rate, in the work of the Jesuit we find the same eclectic manner of composing the artwork, a predilection for repeating the Italian models, particularly those by Andrea Pozzo, of course. Giżycki was a versatile artist (we might dub him an «architect-cum-stage designer»), as he not only designed churches and colleges, but was also a renowned master of *castra doloris* decorations. What is more, Giżycki worked not just for his Order. It is quite telling that he was used rather like a courtly architect by the founders of Jesuit works, and also with other endowments, including the designs for the Dominicans in Czartorysk, or a Basilian Orthodox church in Poddębce (another instance of borrowing from Pozzo's models). His *capo lavoro* is the church and college in Krzemieniec [fig. 14], founded by the Wiśniowiecki family members in 1730 (and completed in 1760s). The first designs for the building were developed by Paolo Antonio Fontana (hence the «wavy» façade, exhibiting the influence of Juvarra's work), however, the decorative divisions and details, and the rendition of the trefoil plan –these are the inputs of Giżycki. Another significant work of Giżycki's is the church at Jurewicze (1746-1756), where the disposition scheme for the façade resembles the one in Krzemieniec, with more similarities to be found in the arrangement of wall surfaces, with manifold, superimposed framings. The church used to have a main altarpiece based on Pozzo's designs for the church of S. Ignazio in Rome. In addition to these works, Giżycki most probably designed the churches in Stanisławów (Ivano-Frankivsk, 1752-1763) and Owruć (1753-1769). These buildings are more archaic, or conservative, in terms of their plan, but they were equipped with decorative façades of typical, very ornamental details, in the Borromini tradition. Completing the panorama are several

<sup>47</sup> BETLEJ, A., *Książ Paweł...*, *op. cit.*



Fig. 14. Krzemieniec, 1730-1761, Paweł Giżycki SJ. Archival photo before 1939.



Fig. 15. Mińsk, 1700-1710. Archival photo 1942.





Fig. 16. Witebsk, 1712-1731 (destroyed 1944).  
Archival photo 1941, from the collection of Jakub Kotowicz.

lesser buildings, which exhibit close associations with Italian solutions. An interesting example of an adaptation was the church in Poryck (1751-1763), the façade of which repeated the composition of Oratorio del Quirico in Pavia, work by Giovanni Veneroni<sup>48</sup>. The church in Włodzimierz Wołyński (1755-1766) is also notable, with its quasi-theatrical, stage-like arrangement of the interior, clearly deriving from Roman models at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The late-Baroque stylistic modus is represented also in the churches on the territory of Grand Duchy of Lithuania till 1730': in Mińsk [fig. 15] (1700-1710), Mścislaw (1730-1748), Faszczówka (1738-1754), Orsza (1741-1765) –the last three churches are attributed to Jakub Fontana), Mohylew, 1719-1725 or in Witebsk [fig. 16] (1712-1731, probably by Jan Pensa from Wilno).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 101-115; 117-121; 38-149, 153-157.

<sup>49</sup> BOBERSKI, W., «Dzieje fary w Witebsku i jej architektoniczne przemiany», in BETLEJ, A. (ed.), *Sztuka kresów wschodnich*, vol. 4, Kraków 1998, p. 43.

In the 18th century, the architecture of Jesuit churches in the south-eastern lands of Poland stylistically evoked mostly the Roman models, although an element of south German (Bavarian) architecture is also important. It is particularly visible in works erected after 1737-1738 within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania –notably in Vilnius, in the churches of Św. Jan (Saint John) and Św. Kazimierz (Saint Casimir), with their exceptional groups of altars. While the concept of grand, theatrical, stucco altar with superimposed, fluid elements, may be derived from the works of Andrea Pozzo (Quarantore designs), artistically it draws directly from Augsburg patterns, which gained publicity through ornamental etchings (for example by Johann Michael Leuchte). One of the most perfect examples of this type of quasi-theatrical arrangement [fig. 17] can be found in the remodelled Gothic church of Saint John in Vilnius (1748-1762) and has been designed by probably the most outstanding representative of the Vilnius baroque –Johann Christoph Glaubitz, executed by Michael Schick SJ, Jakob Grimm SJ). The architect also designed (earlier, in 1738-1745) the new façade for the church [fig. 18], this time very clearly inspired by Guarino Guarini's projects for the church of S. Filippo Neri in Torino.<sup>50</sup> He is also responsible for the dome and the altars in the church of Saint Casimir. Our attention



Fig. 17. Main altar in St. John church in Wilno, 1755, Johann Christoph Glaubitz. Photo Piotr Jamski.



Fig. 18. St John Church in Wilno, 1748, Johann Christoph Glaubitz. Photo Piotr Jamski.

<sup>50</sup> KOWALCZYK, J., «Guarino Guarini a późnobarokowa architektura w Polsce i na Litwie», in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 42, 1997, p. 181.



Fig. 19. Illukszta, 1754-1758 and 1761-1769, (destroyed 1944). Tomasz Żebrowski SJ. Archival Photo 1942.



Fig. 20. Połock, rebuilt in 1751-1753, Johann Christoph Glaubitz (destroyed 1943). Archival photo before 1939.

is drawn to the rendering of the dome –which brings associations with some Austrian buildings, such as the shaping of towers in St. Pölten or the church in Herzogenburg.<sup>51</sup>

Another important Jesuit architect in Lithuania was Tomasz Żebrowski, who authored –among other works– the astronomical observatory in Vilnius, was involved in the construction of the dome above Św. Kazimierz's, and the church in Bobrujsk (1732-1747), and in Illukszta in the Inflanty (Polish Livonia) [fig. 19], constructed between 1754-1758 and 1761-1769.<sup>52</sup>

Other churches within Lithuania consistently replicate so-called «Vilnius Rococo» models first in this group in the church in Dyneburg (1737-1746, towers: 1747-1752, attributed to Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli).<sup>53</sup> The next are churches in Połock [fig. 20] (rebuilt in 1751-1753 by Glaubitz), Witebsk (dome, around 1765), Faszczówka (facade, 1757) and St. Raphael in Wilno (towers and the interior, 1751-1752 by Johann Tobias de Dyderstein (Dietrichstein). These churches have very simple, sometimes even conservative plans, but are marked by characteristic, somehow ragged silhouettes, defined by slender towers in the façades, narrowing towards the top.

<sup>51</sup> KOWALCZYK, J., «Późnobarokowa architektura Wilna i jej europejskie związki», in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 55, 1993, pp. 169-167.

<sup>52</sup> ZUBOVAS, V., *Tomasz Żebrauskas ir jo mokiniai*, Vilnius 1986; *Idem*, «Działalność architektoniczna Tomasza Żebrowskiego», in *Lituano-Slavica Posnanensia. Studia Historiae Artium*, 5, 1991, s. 139-170.

<sup>53</sup> GŁOWACKI, K., «Kościoł jezuicki w Dźwińsku - zapomniane dzieło F. B. Rastrellego», in *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 31, 1986, pp. 228-249.

After the Partitions of Poland (in 1772, 1793, and 1795), there began the period of destruction or deterioration of the architectonic wealth created by the Jesuit Order. The churches were given over to lay clergy. Only in the area of the Russian empire, the order survived until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, because Tsarina Catherine II forbade to proclaim the Pope's *breve*, dissolving the Order. In this period, the focus of attention was upon the churches located in the easternmost parts of the old Republic. Although the buildings did not employ any particular novelties of design, their importance is chiefly linked to the role of the Order in those regions, notably with the most noteworthy Jesuit school, the Połock Academy.

The situation of Jesuit architecture was changing drastically throughout the century. These reasons behind the changes were the waves of one Polish national uprising after another, while the resurgents found refuge in the Catholic church. Dissolutions following the uprisings of 1830 and 1864 led to the liquidation of many monuments of Jesuit architecture in the eastern lands. Churches were given over to Eastern Orthodox church, which led to their adaptation and sometimes to downward drastic remodelling projects (as in the previously quoted Pińsk, also in Owruć and Jurewicze, among many others). More tragic historical events that followed –the first, and then the second World War– annihilated further Jesuit churches. The destruction process continued after World War II, particularly in the areas belonging to the Soviet Union.

At this moment we are trying to reconstruct the panorama of Jesuits' churches in Poland –one of the substantial elements of Polish cultural heritage. Unfortunately, there are only a few scientist who are interested in this field of study. From my perspective as a university teacher, I am sorry to write that the number of students (and future researchers) who take interest in the art of the early modern period in Poland systematically decreases. Unfortunately, this isn't very promising for the future research, including the research on Jesuits' art.